

## IN SEARCH OF A DISTANT PAST: FORMS OF HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN HITTITE ANATOLIA<sup>1</sup>

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**Keywords:** *Hittites • Forms of Historical Consciousness • Anatolia*

**Abstract:** The Hittites of the Old Hittite kingdom could only look back on a relatively short past. With time, however, the kingdom ‘without a past’ could finally look back and relate to a distant past of its own. The following paper will survey some of ways the Hittites came into contact, imagined, and represented their distant past. Hittite historiography, one of the most elaborate and highly developed traditions of its kind in the ancient Near East, was mainly concerned with contemporary history and only marginally engaged with the distant past. The more distant past was the subject of literature rather than of historiography. Both in the form of translated Mesopotamian literature or in local compositions. But it was in ritual action, as documented in the ‘Offering Lists’, that long sequences of past names were preserved and performed, constituting a historical scaffold spanning from the earliest phases of the Old Kingdom to the Empire period. The Old Hittite Kingdom began as a ‘Kingdom without a past’, but with time, the Hittites began to relate and to utilize a distant, sometimes even glorious past of, of their own.

## UZAK BİR GEÇMİŞİN ARAŞTIRILMASI: HİTİT ANADOLU’SUNDA TARİHSEL BİLİNCİN BİÇİMLERİ

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** *Hititler • Tarihsel Bilincin Biçimleri • Anadolu*

**Özet:** Eski Hitit krallığının Hititleri, göreceli yakın bir geçmişi hatırlayabiliyorlardı. Ancak zamanla, “geçmişi olmayan” krallık geriye bakıp kendine ait uzun bir geçmişi hikaye etmeye başladı. Bu makale, Hititlerin kendi geçmişleriyle kurdukları bağları ve gözlerinde canlandırdıkları uzak geçmişlerini nasıl ele alıp tasvir ettikleri hakkında çeşitli örnekler sunmaktadır. Yakın Doğu’nun en teferruatlı ve gelişmiş geleneklerinden biri olan Hitit tarih yazıcılığı, genellikle hep çağdaş tarihi olaylar üzerine yoğunlaşmış olup uzak geçmişe ait konular çok ender durumlarda ele alınmıştır. Uzak geçmiş, tarih yazıcılığında çok edebi eserlerin konusu olmuştur. Bu konu hem Mezopotamya edebi eserlerinin çevirisinde, hem de yerel kompozisyonlarda ele alınmıştır. Ancak, “Adak Listelerinde” kayıt altına alınan dini merasimlerde, geçmişe ait uzun seriler halinde saklanan ve ortaya konan isimler, Eski Hitit döneminden İmparatorluk dönemine kadar uzanan bir tarihi alt yapının varlığını sağlamaktadır. Eski Hitit Krallığı, “Geçmişi olmayan Krallık” olarak başlamış, ancak zaman içerisinde Hititler, kendilerinden daha da görkemli bir şekilde anlattıkları uzak geçmişleriyle kendilerini ilişkilendirmişlerdir.

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Written in the first quarter of the fifteenth century BC, the historical introduction to the Telipinu-Text ascribes the beginning of the Hittite Old Kingdom to a king Labarna (I), who ruled only little more than a century before Telipinu himself<sup>2</sup>. Other Hittite sources demonstrate that Hittite scholars were familiar with a king or two who ruled before Labarna (I), but hardly anything else seems to have been known about them<sup>3</sup>. This relative ignorance of the past may be partially explained by the modest scope of cuneiform writing in the earliest phases of the Old Kingdom<sup>4</sup>, but the overall historical picture remains. The Hittites of the Old Hittite kingdom could only look back on a relatively short past. The notion of a kingdom with almost no past is strengthened by the almost complete silence of Hittite texts of all sorts concerning the origins of the Hittites themselves<sup>5</sup>.

Two centuries later, in the 14th Century BCE and onwards, in the so-called Empire Period, Hittite kings could finally look back and relate to an ancient history of their own. In a ceremony that was conducted on the thirty-second day of the *nuntarriyašba*-Festival ('Festival of Haste'), the great Empire-Period autumn festival, wickerwork tables representing forty-four deceased 'Kings' were ar-

ranged as part of the royal ancestor cult<sup>6</sup>. In reality the list of names contains not only names of kings, but also of queens and princes<sup>7</sup>. Nevertheless, it establishes a long, continuous dynastic history, spanning from the very dawn of Hittite history in the 17th Century BC to the 13th Century BC, when that particular edition of the autumn 'Festival of Haste' text was compiled. The following paper will survey some of ways the Hittites came into contact, imagined, and represented their distant past.

1. The historical introduction of the Telipinu-Text, written in the first quarter of the 15 Century BC, is the only Hittite narrative preserved so far depicting the very beginning of the Old Hittite kingdom. The main fragments of the Text were already published by Emil Forrer (1926), who immediately recognized the immense historical significance of the prologue for the reconstruction of the history of the Hittite kingdom – especially for the reconstruction of the sequence of kings and the events following Muršili's assassination, a period which is otherwise poorly attested. Early scholarship was usually well aware of the tendentious nature of the historical narrative introducing the Telipinu-Text, as did the bulk of commentators on the text that followed<sup>8</sup>. The text begins with a formulaic depiction of the beginning of the Old Hittite kingdom:

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<sup>2</sup> Edited by Hoffmann 1984. The most recent English translation is provided by Goedegebuure 2006a, 228-235. See Gilan 2015, 137-178.

<sup>3</sup> Sührenhagen 1998; Beal 2003; Forlanini 2010; Gilan 2014.

<sup>4</sup> The beginning of cuneiform writing in Hattuša has been the subject of controversy in recent scholarship. See Popko 2007; van den Hout 2009; Archi 2010; Weeden 2011, 57-80; Gilan 2015, 11-20.

<sup>5</sup> One possible exception, the Zalpa-Text, will be presented below.

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<sup>6</sup> Nakamura 2002, 137; Archi 2007, 51-52.

<sup>7</sup> KUB 11.8 + KUB 11.9, edited by Otten 1951, 67-89; Nakamura 2002, 268-275.

<sup>8</sup> Archi 2003, 1-2. For the tendentious nature of the text see especially Hoffner 1975 and Liverani 1977. See Gilan 2015, 137-177.

§1-4 [In] the past, Labarna was Great King. His [son]s, his [brother]s, and also his in-laws, his kin and his troops were united.

The country was small but wherever he went on campaign, he held the enemy lands subdued by force.

He destroyed the lands one by one, he made the lands powerless, and he made them the borders of the sea. And each time he returned from campaign, each of his sons went somewhere to a country.

To Hupišna, to Tuwanuwa, to Nenašša, to Lānda, to Zallara, to Paršuhanta, to Lušna. They governed each a country and the great cities were (well) supplied<sup>9</sup>.

The narrative continues with an almost identical, formulaic description of the reigns of Hattušili (I) and Muršili (I). However, during the reign of the Hattušili, the peace and the prosperity of the kingdom were damaged by the corruption of certain ‘subjects of the princes’ (§7 21–23). Muršili’s achievements, marking the culmination of the Old Hittite Kingdom, are tersely narrated in section nine:

§9-10 [And] he (Muršili) went to Aleppo. He destroyed Aleppo and brought Aleppo’s deportees (and) its goods to Hattuša. Afterwards, he went to Babylon, and destroyed Babylon. He also struck the Hurrian [troops]. He presented Babylon’s de-

portees (and) its goods [in] Hattu[ša]<sup>10</sup>.

The story goes on to depict Muršili’s assassination. Muršili I was murdered by Hantili (I), who was married to Muršili’s sister – hence the importance allocated to the loyalty of in-laws in the prologue – and by Zidanta, Hantili’s son-in-law. The narrative continues to portray a history of failure, conspiracy, usurpation and murder within the Hittite royal family that characterized the reigns of Hantili, Zidanta, Ammuna, and Huzziya. The misfortunes of these reigns were caused by the punishment of the gods for the ‘original sin’ of the Old Hittite Kingdom – the murder of Muršili by Hantili and Zidanta. The strife within the royal family continued well into Telipinu’s own reign, causing the death of his wife Ištapariya and his son Amunna, finally inducing Telipinu to act by summoning the assembly in Hattuša and issuing a series of reforms, most notably regulating the succession to the Hittite throne (section 28). The purpose of the historical introduction is laid out several paragraphs later:

§30 Furthermore, whoever becomes king and seeks evil against (his) brother and sister, now you are his council, and you must speak freely to him: “This is a matter of blood. Read the tablet! Formerly bloodshed in Hattuša was excessive, and the gods took it out on the royal family”<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> KBo 3.67 ++ i 2-12, Hoffman 1984, 12-13; Goedegebuure 2006b, 229-230; Gilan 2015, 138-139.

<sup>10</sup> KBo 3.1 ++ i 27'-30', Hoffman 1984, 18-19; Goedegebuure 2006b, 230; Gilan 2015, 141.

<sup>11</sup> KBo 3.1 ++ ii 46-49, Hoffman 1984, 34-35; Goedegebuure 2006b, 232; Gilan 2015, 150.

The tablet which Telipinu refers to here is the text itself<sup>12</sup>. Thus, we are given the ‘manual’ to the use of the text as it was intended by its ‘author’. The text was apparently designed to instruct future kings as well as the assembly about the cautionary lesson to be drawn from the misfortunes of the past. The text also records the things Telipinu thought necessary, and in fact did, in order to remedy them. Seen in this light, the Telipinu-Text represents a variation on an Old Hittite literary tradition, consisting of compositions, most notably the so-called ‘Political Testament of Hattušili I’ and CTH 5. These compositions record on clay the political wisdom of the Hittite kings, compiled for the political instruction of future generations of the extended Hittite royal family<sup>13</sup>. Besides the Introduction to the Telipinu-Text, there are several other Old Hittite texts, unfortunately very fragmentary, that similarly schematically recount the golden age of the Old Hittite Kingdom<sup>14</sup>.

A middle Hittite prayer, which was later integrated into the prayer of Muršili II to the Sun-Goddess of Arinna (CTH 376)<sup>15</sup>, evokes the glorious days of the Old Kingdom in the intention of remind-

ing the deity of her former deeds, demanding her to shape up and return to her old form:

§3 In the past, the [Land] of Hattuša, [with the help] of the Sun-goddess [of] Arinna, cu[t up in ba]ttle the surrounding lands like a lion. Moreover, it destroyed Aleppo and whoever, Babylon and whoever. It took the goods of all the lands – silver, gold and deities – and placed them before the Sun-goddess of Arinna<sup>16</sup>.

The golden age of the Old Hittite Kingdom is also evoked in the historical introduction to the treaty of Muwatalli II with Talmi-Šarruma of Aleppo<sup>17</sup>. The treaty is a copy of an older treaty, written to Talmi-Šarruma by Muwatalli’s father, king Muršili II, on his installment as king of Aleppo, which was by then stolen. The historical introduction begins by acknowledging the grand history of Aleppo, the capital of the Old Babylonian kingdom of Yamhad, and tracing the history of relations between Hattuša and Aleppo to its very beginning, to the reigns of Hattušili I and Muršili I.

Formerly the kings of Aleppo possessed a Great Kingship, but Hattušili, Great King, King of Hatti, brought their kingship to fullness<sup>18</sup>. After Hattušili, King of Hatti,

<sup>12</sup> Van den Hout 2009, 86-87; Gilan 2015, 163-165.

<sup>13</sup> This assignation was first suggested by Forrer, followed by Hoffman 1984, 74. see also recently Marazzi 2007. In modern scholarship the Telipinu text is usually designated as a proclamation, a decree, an edict or even as a constitution. see now the overview in Gilan 2015, 163-165, with earlier references.

<sup>14</sup> KBo 3.57 and duplicate KUB 26.74, edited by de Martino 2003, 203–209; KBo 50.4 is edited by Soy-sal 2005, 140-142.

<sup>15</sup> KUB 24.4+KUB 30.12. For the composition see Singer 2002, 44-46.

<sup>16</sup> KUB 24.4+ rev. 2–5 with parallel KUB 24.3 + ii 44–48, which shows minor variations, Goedegebuure 2012, 412.

<sup>17</sup> Translated in Beckman 1999, 93-95. On the historical consciousness revealed in the text see especially Steiner 1999; Archi 1999; Gilan 2017.

<sup>18</sup> Or ‘assigned their kingship (to its end)’ according to Archi 1999, 40. Differently Steiner 1999. On this problematic phrase see now Devecchi 2015, 235 and Gilan 2017, 38.

Muršili, Great King, grandson of Hattušili, Great King, destroyed the kingship of Aleppo and the land of Aleppo<sup>19</sup>.

The historical introduction continues to sketch the history of Aleppo's encounters with the Hittites, referring to the destruction of the city by king Tudhaliya, after Aleppo took the side of Mitanni breaking an earlier agreement with the Hittites. It goes on to depict Aleppo's maneuvering between king Hattušili of Hattuša and an unnamed king of Mitanni concerning a border conflict with the Land of Aštata and the Land of Nuhašše. It concludes with the conquest of the city by Šuppiluliuma I, where the historical introduction breaks. Šuppiluliuma I appointed his son Telipinu, the 'Priest' to govern Aleppo as a Hittite viceroy after he took over the city<sup>20</sup>. Telipinu was succeeded by his son Talmi-Šarruma, the addressee of the treaty. Later on in the text, in the mutual loyalty clause of the Talmi-Šarruma treaty (sections 13 & 14), both parties agree to recognize and protect their future descendants. Here, Talmi-Šarruma, who is a member of the Hittite royal family – and Šuppiluliuma's grandson – is reminded by his uncle of their common ancestry: 'For we are all the descendants of Šuppiluliuma, Great King. So let our house be one'<sup>21</sup>. This instigation for the Hittite royal family to unite calls to mind similar admonitions made by Hattušili I in his so-called 'Polit-

ical Testament' (CTH 6), calling his kindred (*pankur-*) to be united like a pack of *wetna-* animals<sup>22</sup>. Similarly, the king admonishes his subject's kindred to be united like a pack of wolves in CTH 5<sup>23</sup>.

Further in the text, in §14, Talmi-Šarruma who, like Muwatalli, is a member of the Hittite royal family – and Šuppiluliuma's grandson – is warned that 'In future days, the kingship of Aleppo shall not surpass the king of Hattuša'<sup>24</sup>. The warning, echoing the acknowledgment of Aleppo's grand past in the beginning of the historical introduction, apparently reflects Muršili's fear that Talmi-Šarruma might be tempted to restore Aleppo to its old grandeur. It also reminds Talmi-Šarruma that Aleppo lost its great kingship because it once rejected the word of the king in Hattuša, as famously portrayed in CTH 5<sup>25</sup>. Both passages immediately suggest that the author of the Talmi-Šarruma treaty must have internalized the political wisdom found in that Old Hittite political literature, instructing the young Talmi-Šarruma to always obey the word of the king, keep the Hittite royal family united, and not to be allured by the grandeurs of the past<sup>26</sup>.

2. The excursion to the distant past in the Talmi-Šarruma treaty, however, is

<sup>19</sup> KBo 1.6 obv. 11-14, Beckman 1999, 94.

<sup>20</sup> The event is recorded in two historical overviews originating from the reign of Hattušili III: KUB 19.9 i 18 and KBo 6.28 + KUB 26.48 obv. 21, both cited by Klengel 1992, 128.

<sup>21</sup> KBo 1.6 rev 8'-9'.

<sup>22</sup> KUB 1.16 + KUB 40.65 ii 46, Gilan 2015, 72.

<sup>23</sup> KBo 3.27: 15'-16', Gilan 2015, 96.

<sup>24</sup> KBo 1.6 ii 11'-12', Beckman 1999, 95.

<sup>25</sup> KBo 3.27 obv. 28'-31', Gilan 2015, 102. 'The man of Zalpa has rejected the word of the father, this is what happened to Zalpa! The man of Haššum rejected the word of the father, this is what happened to Haššum! Now even the man of Aleppo has rejected the word of the father, Aleppo will also perish!'

<sup>26</sup> See Gilan 2017.

relatively rare<sup>27</sup>. The historical introductions to the state-treaties depict in some detail the events that led to the conclusion of the treaty, but the history portrayed in these introductions is mostly relatively recent and seldom goes over three or four generations before the conclusion of the treaty itself<sup>28</sup>.

The distant past was seldom a topic of Hittite historiography as well. The most productive genre of Hittite historical writing was the ‘Manly Deeds’ (designated as *pešnatar*, ‘manhood, virility’ in Hittite)<sup>29</sup>. The genre is attested, even if intermittently, from the very beginning of the Old Hittite Kingdom to the very end of the Empire in the 12th century BCE. The genre illustrates, in varying degrees of detail, the settlement of political conflicts by the Hittite king, mostly in the form of just and successful military campaigns. These are often characterized by the support of the divine and by the richness of the booty taken from the enemy. The genre provides a platform for a demonstration of the manliness of the

Hittite king, his political wisdom, just conduct, military skills and religious piety<sup>30</sup>. The ‘Manly Deeds’ are usually arranged chronologically according to the king’s regnal years. They are therefore designated as annals in modern scholarly literature although the regnal years are never actually numbered. The texts depict, as their name suggests, the deeds of the reigning king. In several cases, the deeds of the immediate predecessors are narrated as well. One famous example is the joint ‘Manly Deeds’ of Tudhaliya I and Arnuwanda I<sup>31</sup>. Another is the ‘Manly Deeds’ of Šuppiluliuma, narrated by his son Muršili II, which also records the deeds of his grandfather<sup>32</sup>. Hattušili’s ‘III’ fragmentary account of the campaigns of his grandfather Šuppiluliuma I (CTH 83) provides a third example.

Thus, the Hittite ‘Manly Deeds’ were mainly concerned with contemporary history. They were intended for the consumption of contemporaries and especially for future generations of Hittite erudite elite and convey by this a distinct notion of historical consciousness – awareness of the importance of the deeds portrayed in them to the future<sup>33</sup>. There is, however, one singular reference in a ‘Manly Deeds’ to a more remote past. It is found in the earliest representative of the genre, the ‘Manly Deeds’ of Hattušilis I., dating to the Old Hittite Kingdom, but available only in later Empire Period

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<sup>27</sup> On the historical introductions to the Hittite treaties see Altman 2004; Devecchi 2008 and Singer 2011, 748-757.

<sup>28</sup> A nother rare example is found in the historical introduction to the treaty with Wiluša – concluded between the Hittite king Muwatalli II and Alakšandu, king of Wiluša (Beckman 1999, 87-93). In the beginning of the introduction (§2), the author traces the first Hittite subjugation of Wiluša to Labarna, the founder of the Old Hittite Kingdom, but exceptionally admits that he is ignorant as to the circumstances that led to its subsequent loss to the Hittites later on, ‘as the matter is long past’. On this see Singer 2011, 751-753 and Gilan 2017, 30-32 with previous literature.

<sup>29</sup> Cancik 1976; Hoffner 1980; Güterbock 1983; Klinger 2001; Cancik 2002; de Martino 2003; de Martino 2004; Klinger 2008a; Bachvarova 2010; Singer 2011.

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<sup>30</sup> Hoffner 1980, 311-312.

<sup>31</sup> Edited by Carruba 2008.

<sup>32</sup> Edited by Güterbock 1956; del Monte 2008.

<sup>33</sup> On the intended audiences of the ‘Manly Deeds’ see Roszkowska – Mutschler 2002; Gilan 2005 and most recently van den Hout 2014, especially 176-181.

copies<sup>34</sup>. In the concluding paragraphs of the composition, summarizing the destruction of the important cities Hahhum and Haššum, Hattušili I compares his own deeds with those of the Akkadian king Sargon, a king who lived more than half a millennium before him. According to the text, Hattušili followed Sargon's unique achievement and crossed the Euphrates River on foot, but whereas the Akkadian king failed to destroy the city of Hahhum, his Hittite counterpart destroyed it as well as the city of Haššum<sup>35</sup>. The literary reference to Sargon discloses a close acquaintance with the literary traditions about the legendary kings of Akkade, Sargon and Naram-Sin. These compositions circulated in the cuneiform centers of the Ancient Near East and were also available, in Akkadian as well as in Hittite adaptations, to Hittite scholars<sup>36</sup>.

3. It was literature, rather than historiography, that provided a venue in which notions of a distant past could be explored. In Hattuša, the reception and adaptation of foreign literary traditions in translation provided an opportunity to learn more about the distant past<sup>37</sup>. As already observed by Güterbock, in Hittite adaptations of narratives concerning the Old Akkadian kings, Sargon and Naram-Sin are facing and defeating mainly Ana-

tolian rulers<sup>38</sup>. Such is the case of KBo 3.13, a Hittite version of a narrative concerning Naram-Sin's victory over the coalition of rebellious kings<sup>39</sup>. The composition 'The Great Rebellion against Naram-Sin' is handed down in several versions; each however, represents another geographical horizon, typical of the place in which the text was edited<sup>40</sup>. The Hittite version contains a detailed list of kings which generally parallels an Old Babylonian text<sup>41</sup>, listing however an otherwise unattested king of Hattuša, named Pam-ba. Another name that appears exclusively in the Hittite list should very likely be restored as Nūr-Daggan, king of Purušhanda. Both king and city are well attested in another work of literature about the Akkadian kings, the 'King of Battle'<sup>42</sup>. In this story, Sargon faces Purušhanda, a major Anatolian center, conquers it and humiliates its ruler Nūr-Daggan. Interestingly, one of the Hittite versions of the story, KBo 22.6, even possibly bears traces of deliberate manipulation aimed at achieving a more archaic appearance<sup>43</sup>.

<sup>34</sup> Edited by de Martino 2003. The Akkadian version is edited by Devecchi 2005. A recent translation is Beckman 2006b.

<sup>35</sup> KBo 10.2 iii 29-42, edited by de Martino 2003, 72-77. See already Güterbock 1964.

<sup>36</sup> The compositions are edited by Westenholz 1997. For the Hittite compositions see Beckman 2001.

<sup>37</sup> Beckman 2001; Gilan 2008; Gilan 2010.

<sup>38</sup> Güterbock 1938, 49-50. see also Westenholz 1998; Van de Mierop 2000; Gilan 2008; Torri 2009; Westenholz 2011, 285-303.

<sup>39</sup> Edited by Güterbock 1938, 66-80.

<sup>40</sup> The different versions of the 'Great Rebellion' (without KBo 3.13) are edited by Westenholz 1997, 221-261 (Text 17). See also Jonker 1995, 122-132 and Haul 2007, 59-94.

<sup>41</sup> BM 79987, edited by Westenholz 1997, 246-57 as 'Gula-An and the seventeen kings against Naram-Sin'. For a detailed comparison of the two lists see Van De Mierop 2000, 138-140; Westenholz 2011, 294-298.

<sup>42</sup> The main Hittite version is edited by Güterbock 1969. The Akkadian versions are edited by Westenholz 1997, 57-172.

<sup>43</sup> Rieken 2001.

Legendary Mesopotamian kings of a distant past also appeared in rituals. Such as in KUB 27.38, a Hurrian-Hittite ritual text dating to the beginning of the Empire Period that embeds lists of historical kings in a ritual setting<sup>44</sup>. The first part of the text contains a Hurrian song, which is prescribed to be sung during the production of king-substituting wool-puppets. Various deified rulers are summoned, among whom is Atal-šen, a known ruler of Urkiš and Nawar. Later on mountains and rivers are mentioned, among them the mountains Hazzi and Nanni. The subject of the second part (obverse ii 1–reverse iii 12) is another song concerning the circle of deities around Hepat, Teššub and Šarruma. The third part (reverse iii 13–iv 33, afterwards broken) contains a list of diverse Ancient Near Eastern rulers, among them the Old Akkadian kings Sargon, Maništušu, Naram-Sin and Šarkalli-šarri. Deities such as the god Kumarbi and his mythological offspring Hedammu, the sea-monster created by Kumarbi to fight Teššub, are also embedded in the list<sup>45</sup>. Their presence in this otherwise “historical” list offers an intriguing example of the mixture between history and myth. There is evidence, albeit in tiny fragments, that some of the Old Akkadian kings were summoned in other incantation rituals as well<sup>46</sup>.

4. Historical literature depicting important Anatolian kings of the past was also available in Hattuša. One such composition is a Hittite-written historical narrative about king Anum-Hirbi of Haššum (CTH 2)<sup>47</sup>. This text may have originated in one of the urban centers in Syria, perhaps in Haššum itself. The inscription(s) of Anitta, king of Kaneš, copied in Hattuša from a *Vorlage* that originated perhaps from the city of Kuššara, is another<sup>48</sup>. The existence of several copies of the Anitta-Text in Hattuša recalls the question of the affinity between the two cities, Hattuša and Kaneš. The emergence of the town of Hattuša as the most important political center in Anatolia, a role that was reserved until then to the city of Kaneš, was certainly the most distinctive transition that took place during the Old Hittite Kingdom. It is well known that the emic designation of the Hittite language was <sup>URU</sup>*nišili, nešumili or našili* ‘in the language of the Kaneš’, a language that was indeed spoken by the majority of the local population in Kaneš<sup>49</sup>. It has been recognized long ago that the material culture excavated in both sites reveal a great deal of continuity between the Old Assyrian and the Old Hittite periods, suggesting, in the words of Marie-Henriette Gates, ‘that the cultural, social and political conditions in Central Anatolia proceeded from Anitta’s Kültepe to Hattušili’s Hattuša without

<sup>44</sup> De Martino 1993; Bachvarova 2012; Bachvarova 2016, 182-187.

<sup>45</sup> Wilhelm 2003.

<sup>46</sup> Naram-Sin and probably also Sargon are found in KUB 48.112, a tiny fragment of a MUNUŠ ŠU.GI (‘Old Woman’) incantation ritual. Sargon, the goddess IŠTAR of Nineveh and the city of Akkad are mentioned together in KUB 31.3.

<sup>47</sup> Edited by Helck 1983. see also Miller 2001, 97-99; Haas 2006: 18-19, 26-27.

<sup>48</sup> Edited by Neu 1974 and Carruba 2003. A recent English translation is Beckman 2006a, 216-219. On the provenience of the Anitta text based on clay analysis see Goren – Mommsen – Klinger 2011, 693.

<sup>49</sup> Larsen 2015, 138.



interruption, untouched by specific events<sup>50</sup>. There is also evidence for continuity in the religious sphere as well<sup>51</sup>. Historically, however, not much was known about Kaneš in Hattuša, with the exception of the Anitta-Text.

This is even more striking as recent studies have continually reduced the hiatus between the reign of Zuzu, possibly the last great king of Kaneš and the ancestor's kings of the early Old Hittite kingdom. According to the recent reconstruction of Barjamovic, Hertel and Larsen, the end of king Zuzu's reign could have coincided with the reigns of Labarna (I) or of Huzziya, reigning sometime before Hattušili I<sup>52</sup>. They therefore suggest that king Huzziya could have been responsible for the reconstruction of Hattuša after its destruction by Anitta, as it is documented in the Anitta text (§11–12). However, there is hardly any archaeological evidence for Anitta's alleged destruction of Hattuša. On the contrary, there seems to be a great deal of continuity between the Kārum-period and the Old Hittite town<sup>53</sup>.

Based on the indirect testimony of the Zalpa-Text (CTH 3)<sup>54</sup>, Barjamovic, Hertel and Larsen further suggest that the destruction of the Waršama Palace and the end of the Ib settlement in the

lower town of Kaneš could be ascribed to an ongoing conflict with Hattuša<sup>55</sup>. They allude to a fragmentary episode in the Zalpa-Text according to which the [‘grandfa]ther of the king’ [...] the town of Hurma to the ‘father of the old king’<sup>56</sup>. This passage demonstrates that the former exercised some political leverage over the city of Hurma, a town situated to the south of Kaneš, implying that Kaneš itself, situated between Hattuša and Hurma, was under his political control as well. The reference to the town of Hurma in the Zalpa-Text is central to several historical reconstructions of the earliest phases of Old Hittite history<sup>57</sup>.

The town of Hurma, however, is only mentioned in the Zalpa-Text in passing. The verb is broken and the passage itself (KBo 3.38 obv. 18’-25’) is fragmentary. More fundamentally, the ‘grandfather of the king’ and the ‘father of the old king’ are never named in the narrative and their identity cannot therefore be conclusively determined. The names of their respective successors in the narrative, the ‘king’ and the ‘old king’ are likewise never given. The title LUGAL ŠU.GI ‘old king’ is singular in the Hittite material and even the empire-period copyist had his difficulties with this title, emending it to LÚ.MEŠ GAL ‘grandees’<sup>58</sup>. The author does name the Zalpean protagonists and the rebelling princes, but these names are not attested elsewhere. The utilization of the Zalpa-Text for the reconstruction of Hittite his-

<sup>50</sup> Gates 2017, 195. See Emre 2011 with previous literature. Already Otten 1959, 174 n. 3.

<sup>51</sup> Otten 1959; Ünal 1995; Archi 2004; Kryszat 2006; Popko 2007a; Taracha 2009, 25-32. See now Steitler 2017, 181-184.

<sup>52</sup> Barjamovic – Hertel – Larsen 2012, 51.

<sup>53</sup> Schachner 2011, 68, 71; Schachner 2015.

<sup>54</sup> Edited by Otten 1973; Holland – Zorman 2007. see also Corti 2005; Gilan 2007; Gilan 2015, 179-214.

<sup>55</sup> Barjamovic – Hertel – Larsen 2012, 51.

<sup>56</sup> KBo 3.38 obv. 19’-20’, Gilan 2015, 184.

<sup>57</sup> Beal 2003; Forlanini 2007, 264-266; Forlanini 2010.

<sup>58</sup> KBo 3.38 rev 30’, Gilan 2015, 189.

tory is therefore highly problematic, also because of the singular literary form of composition. The composition does not resemble any other genre of Hittite historiography and represents a unique mixture of history and fiction<sup>59</sup>. More significantly, the city of Kaneš does appear in a pivotal role in the Zalpa-Text, at the incest-tale at the beginning of the composition. The town is never explicitly mentioned, however, in the 'historical' part that follows it, beginning with the sentence 'when later on war broke out' (KBo 3.38 i 7'). If the city of Kaneš was indeed destroyed as a result of a conflict with Hattuša during the reign of the grandfather of the king, one would expect this significant event to be mentioned precisely in the Zalpa-text. The fact that Kaneš appears exclusively in the legend-like incest-tale at the beginning of the composition suggests perhaps that the city was already a thing of the past when the composition was authored.

The city of Kaneš did not survive the transition into the Old Hittite period. The city never recuperated from the destruction documented at the end of the Ib stratum. The following layers 6 in Kültepe and Ia at the Kārum, roughly contemporary with the Old Hittite kingdom, reveal only a very modest settlement in comparison, still showing signs of trade relations but no signs of large-scale building activities. Even more significantly, after the end of layer Ia, dating to the earlier phases of the Old Hittite kingdom, the site remained unsettled for about eight hundred years, throughout

the Old Kingdom and the Empire periods. Kaneš regained its importance again only in the Iron Age, as a seat of one of the kings of Tabal<sup>60</sup>. The fact that Kültepe was never resettled by the Hittites is intriguing. The question as to why the mound was never rebuilt by the Hittites was recently addressed by Kulakoğlu<sup>61</sup>, who ascribed the long abandonment of Kültepe to natural causes, to the ponding of the Sarımsaklı basin. Nevertheless, the fact is that no Hittite king, as far as we know, ever attempted to rebuild the city or to restore its cult; the ruins are not even included as a station in the trips taken by the Hittite king in the great festivals. Contrasting this negative evidence with the rich material documenting the restoration of the cult in the northern towns of Nerik<sup>62</sup> and Zalpa<sup>63</sup> strongly suggests that the Hittites of Hattuša did not feel any special affiliation with the city of Kaneš, as it is often assumed in the scholarly literature. It seems that the Hittites' own designation of their language as Nesite only shows that they conceived their language, but not necessarily themselves, as originating in this region. The relative silence concerning Kaneš in Hittite historical texts strongly supports this notion.

It is precisely the fairy-tale-like nature of the tale of the queen of Kaneš, the instant multiple birth of thirty sons and thirty daughters leading to their seemingly unavoidable incest, that invited

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<sup>59</sup> See most recently Gilan 2015, 179-214 with previous literature.

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<sup>60</sup> Kulakoğlu 2014, 86-87.

<sup>61</sup> Kulakoğlu 2014.

<sup>62</sup> Haas 1970; Corti 2006; Klinger 2008b; Klinger 2009.

<sup>63</sup> Forlanini 1984; Corti 2010.

interpretations of the text in terms of a foundation, a charter or a migration myth<sup>64</sup>. Watkins has drawn attention to striking parallels shared with other tales of origins, such as the Greek legend of the Danaids and a further tale of prodigious multiple births in the *Rigveda*. On account of these parallels Watkins considers all three as reflecting a common Indo-European tale of origin. However, one should bear in mind that while Greek writers were very fond of foundation myths and local genealogies, as the pertinent rich literary material from the Ancient Greek world may suggest, in Hittite literature tales of origin are very rare. In fact, the Zalpa story is one of a kind. It seems therefore as if relatively little was known in Hattuša about Kaneš. The Hittite textual evidence is relatively silent about the city. Zalpa/Zalpuwa, on the other hand, is occasionally found in mytho-literary texts alluding to ancient Hittite kingship and its origins. These notions originate from the local, north-central Anatolian tradition. There are some mytho-literary allusions to the origins of the Hittite institute of kingship as originating from the Sea, most probably from the black Sea<sup>65</sup>.

5. It was mainly in ritual action, as documented in the ‘Offering Lists’, that the memory of the distant past was preserved, documenting that long sequences of past names were preserved and recited, perhaps even memorized in ritual performance. Thus, the ‘Offering Lists’ constituted a historical scaffold, a framework spanning from the earliest phases of the

Old Kingdom to the Empire period, on which historical figures could be located. The ‘Offering Lists’ of deceased members of the royal family, as well as the texts pertaining to the veneration of statues of deceased kings, have long been recognized as a vital source for reconstructing the chronological sequence of the Hittite royal dynasty<sup>66</sup>. The lists were vital in illuminating different phases of Hittite dynastic history, especially the beginning of the Old Kingdom, and they remain vital to this day. They include names of otherwise unattested kings and queens, such as the Kadduši and Kali, the spouses of kings Hattušili I and Muršili I, respectively.

Some of the lists go back to the earliest phases of Hittite history. One such text that belongs to the ‘Offering Lists’ is the single column tablet registering the number of bovines and of sheep provided by the ‘House of the Cooks’ to the cult of deceased members of the royal family<sup>67</sup>. The different persons are distinguished by rank signified by the number/type of offerings they received. Kings and queens receive one bovine and one sheep, while others receive only a single sheep. The text, not well preserved, begins by listing sacrifices dedicated to person whose name is broken, possibly Huzziya (0), whose name is called by a singer<sup>68</sup>. The text continues to register the names of Hittite royals that received offerings from the ‘House of the

<sup>66</sup> Forrer 1922; Otten 1951; Otten 1968.

<sup>67</sup> KUB 11.7, Otten 1951, 64-66.

<sup>68</sup> KUB 11.7 obv. 1-5, Haas – Wäfler 1977, 108-109. KUB 36.120 possibly begins with Huzziya (0) as well.

<sup>64</sup> See among others Oettinger 2002; Singer 2007.

<sup>65</sup> Haas 1977; Klinger 2000; Corti 2010.

Cooks', but unfortunately not all of the names survived. The names that do appear originate from the dawn of Hittite history<sup>69</sup>. Two of the names, Pawahdelmah and Labarna, are also found in the 'Political Testament' of Hattušili I, in a cautionary historical excursus that concerns events that took place at the time of his grandfather, whose name is broken, but commonly reconstructed on the basis of the 'Offering-Lists' as PU-Šarruma<sup>70</sup>. This entry in the 'Offering Lists' as well as other possible allusions to Old Hittite historical compositions in entries that possibly pertain to the earlier phases of Hittite history, suggest perhaps that the compilation of the 'Offering Lists' also involved an antiquarian study of ancient texts available in the archives and libraries of Hattuša<sup>71</sup>. Alternatively, the lists may have been compiled on the basis of the remains of the deceased found by the scribes inventorying the 'Stone House' (É.NA<sub>4</sub>)<sup>72</sup>.

By utilizing fragments from various cultic contexts, Heinrich Otten reconstructed a 'master list', with more or less the same recurring names, originating from the beginning of the Hittite dynasty and ending with Muršili II and his generation (including his older brothers Telipinu the 'Priest' and Šarre-kušuh/Piašili of

Kargamiš)<sup>73</sup>. One list exceptionally ends with Muršili's successor, Muwatalli II at the beginning of the 13th century. No later Empire Period kings are attested in the 'Offering Lists', perhaps documenting a change to a more individual form of funerary cult<sup>74</sup>. By using Otten's reconstructed 'master list', one arrives at about 40 names of royal persons<sup>75</sup>.

In several cases, scholars were able to identify the religious and cultural contexts in which the cult prescribed in the 'Offering Lists' was embedded. The ceremony involving the wickerwork tables representing the 44 'Kings' probably took place on the thirty-second day of the *nuntarriyašba*-Festival, the autumn 'Festival of Haste'<sup>76</sup>. As noted by Nakamura, the wickerwork tables were not arranged for the deceased persons, but rather represented or symbolized them<sup>77</sup>. In other texts that belong to the lists, the names of the kings were recited, perhaps from a written tablet. Earlier during that same festival, on the fifth day of the *nuntarriyašba*-festival, a ceremony took place in which 'Sun-goddesses of Arinna' of various queens received cult offerings at the town of Tahurpa<sup>78</sup>. The ceremony was celebrated by the great queen upon her visit to the town. The queen consecrates lambs to six statues of Sun-goddesses of Arinna. Each statue probably represented a deceased queen. As suggested by Torri,

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<sup>69</sup> KUB 11.7 obv. 17-21, Sørenhagen 1998, 81-83; Beal 2003, 16-17; Forlanini 2010, 116-117, Gilan 2014, 95-96, all with references.

<sup>70</sup> Beginning with the *editio princeps* of the text by Sommer – Falkenstein 1938, 12-15, 162-163. Recent translations of the 'Political Testament' of Hattušili I are Goedegebuure 2006; Gilan 2015, 65-98.

<sup>71</sup> Gilan 2014.

<sup>72</sup> Singer 2009, 174.

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<sup>73</sup> Otten 1968, 122-124.

<sup>74</sup> van den Hout 2002, 86; Torri 2008, 179. See also Singer 2009, 176-177.

<sup>75</sup> Singer 2009, 174.

<sup>76</sup> Nakamura 2002, 137-138; Archi 2007, 51-52.

<sup>77</sup> Nakamura 2002, 274; Torri 2008, 177.

<sup>78</sup> Bin – Nun 1975, 197-201; Nakamura 2002, 191-207; Torri 2008, 182-183.

these statuettes may have been originally votive pieces offered to the Sun-Goddess of Arinna by those queens and inscribed with their names. The list of queens in the cult offerings of the town of Tahurpa has several characteristics in common with a parallel cluster in one of the 'Offering List' texts. Thus, the two lists could be related in some way<sup>79</sup>.

Closely related to the 'Offering Lists' is the so-called 'Cruciform Seal', undoubtedly one of the most impressive artifacts manifesting a historical consciousness found so far in the Hittite world<sup>80</sup>. It can hardly be a coincidence that the seal was commissioned by king Muršili II, the greatest history enthusiast of all Hittite kings. The obverse of the seal presents the names of the King Muršili II and his spouse Gaššulawiya, written in hieroglyphic Anatolian. The pair is circled by the founders of the New Hittite Empire and their queens, Tudhaliya I. and Nikkalmati, Arnuwanda (reconstructed) with Ašmunikal, a queenless Tudhaliya and a broken name of a king, most certainly Tudhaliya III, paired with his spouse Taduhepa. The reverse side goes back in time to the founders of the Old Hittite kingdom. On the reverse we find a king Huzziya, who appears with his spouse on the left wing of the reverse. This Huzziya (0) was identified as the founder of the ruling dynasty. A king Huzziya is attested in the 'Offering Lists', sometimes in a privileged first position, but is missing so far from the Hittite historical record. King Huzziya of Zalpa, mentioned in the Anitta-Text (§11) is

sometimes identified with Huzziya (0) of the cruciform seal and of the 'Offering Lists', but definitive proof of that is still lacking. The reverse of the cruciform seal also depicts, next to Huzziya and his spouse, the couples Tawannana and Labarna; Hattušili and Kadduši and Muršili and Kali. The center is occupied by Šuppiluliamas, the father of Muršili II, and his first wife Henti. In both the 'Offering Lists' and the cruciform seal, royal dynastic history is depicted in a rather distinct Hittite manner as one royal couple following another. It could very well be that the 'Offering Lists' may have been used as a source by the ancient artisans that produced the cruciform seal<sup>81</sup>.

Other cultic events that reveal an acute sense of historical consciousness were ceremonies that involved the veneration of statues of deceased kings, recorded in CTH 660. One such cult offering took place during the great AN.TAH.ŠUM spring festival<sup>82</sup>. The locus of the cult was identified as the temple of Teššub of Aleppo, situated in the royal citadel on Büyükkale in the capital Hattuša<sup>83</sup>. Among the numina that received cult offerings in the adyton of the temple are several deities of local Anatolian origin, sphinxes, the bulls of the Storm-God, his mountains Namni and Hazzi, and various cult objects of the Storm God, such as his weapon, scepter, and chariot<sup>84</sup>. Statues of deceased kings were also among the recipients of offer-

<sup>79</sup> Gilan 2014.

<sup>80</sup> Published by Dinçol ve diğ. 1993.

<sup>81</sup> Gilan 2014.

<sup>82</sup> See already Otten 1951, 110.

<sup>83</sup> Popko 2002.

<sup>84</sup> Haas 1994, 803-806; Archi 2007, 53; Torri 2008, 173-175.

ings in the temple. The named statues are in order of appearance: Hattušili, Tudhaliya, Šuppiluliuma, and in some text variants also Muršili. Hattušili is to be identified with Hattušili I, the founder of the Old Hittite Kingdom<sup>85</sup>. Tudhaliya is probably Tudhaliya I/II, the founder of the New Kingdom; the third is Šuppiluliuma I, the great conqueror. The name Muršili, which is attested in only two fragments, seems to refer to Muršili II, who was added later on to the text. Most commentators agree that the veneration of the statues in the temple of the Storm-God should be kept apart from the ‘Offering Lists’. According to Singer, these kings were the ‘founding fathers’ of the Hittite Kingdom. Their names, he added, ‘were taken up by Late Hittite kings in the hope that their glory would radiate upon their present namesakes’<sup>86</sup>. Indeed, these kings’ names appear in the extended genealogies of later Empire Period eponymous kings, such as Hattušili III and Tudhaliya IV<sup>87</sup>. I have suggested elsewhere that the selection of these kings and their admission to this ‘hall of fame’ of Hittite kings reveals an acute understanding of history<sup>88</sup>.

To conclude, Hittite historiography, one of the most elaborate traditions of its kind in the Ancient Near East, was only marginally engaged with the distant past. It was written for contemporaries, but especially for the future. Most of the historical introductions of the state treaties

likewise depict relatively contemporary history as well. The more distant past was the subject of literature rather than of historiography, either in the form of translated Mesopotamian literature (the narratives about the Old Akkadian kings) or more local compositions (the Anum-Hirbi story, the Zalpa-Text). But it was in ritual action, as documented in the ‘Offering Lists’, that long sequences of past names were preserved and performed. Thus, the ‘Offering Lists’ constituted a historical scaffold, a framework spanning from the earliest phases of the Old Kingdom to the Empire period, on which historical figures could be located. The Old Hittite Kingdom began as a ‘Kingdom without a past’, but with time, the Hittites began to explore and to utilize the by then distant, continuous, sometimes even glorious past of their predecessors.

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<sup>85</sup> Otten 1968, 15; Torri 2008, 175.

<sup>86</sup> Singer 2009, 180. Similar assessments are reached by Popko 2002, 79; Torri 2008, 175.

<sup>87</sup> Otten 1968, 15; Torri 2008, 175-176.

<sup>88</sup> Gilan 2014.

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